1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Shasta NS21

grown up among the Klamath, Klamath in speech and custom, were not tempted to begin life anew elsewhere. Some, at least, had considerable prestige. Pit River Charley, for instance, a freed slave, returned from his people in 1873 with novel rites which were engrafted on the Ghost dance then newly come to the Klamath.[63]

Trade is probably of no great consequence within the tribe although it figures intertribally. Contacts were few and frequently unfriendly until after the coming of the whites. The exception is the neighboring Modoc groups; others are too distant. Winters are too severe for travel and trade, but summers find the Warm Springs people in residence with the Klamath. These similarly set out for Warm Springs and the Dalles when the grass begins to grow, camping there in the open during the summer, and building mat-covered structures of earth-lodge shape (wakĕ'ploks) if they stay through the winter. Slaves, Pit River bows, and beads are taken there to trade for horses, blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), dried salmon, and lampreys.[64] Two slave children are valued at five horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. This is not far from the values recorded by Taylor in 1859; one woman was worth five or six horses, a boy one horse.[65]

The Molala are also visitors and are met on the headwaters of the Rogue west of Crater lake. From them buckskins are obtained for pond-lily seed and beads. Relations with the Shasta have not always been unfriendly; some of the Klamath Falls group and Modoc married with them, possibly only since the white advent. The nearest Shasta settlements at Shovel and Jennie creeks can be reached afoot several days' journey down the Klamath. Laik'ĕlmi is a jointly occupied fishing site somewhat upstream but below the Klamath canyon. Skins and skin blankets are traded for Shasta beads. Dixon states that Shasta trade with the Klamath is slight.[66]

In the period 1860–70 the few Shasta remaining in their territory congregated on the lower Shasta river and near the frontier town, Yreka. They were reached by crossing the Black Mountain range. At that time this was a much mixed group, principally half-breeds. My informant Tom Lang, taken there as a youngster, remarked how he was afraid of their highly tattooed faces.

Intercourse and marriage went on freely with the Modoc. They were visited on Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, and joined for the fishing on Lost River near Olene.

[63] Spier, Ghost Dance of 1870, 45, 51.
[64] Cf. Gatschet, 1:93; 2:436.
[65] *Op. cit.*, 1:lx.
[66] The Shasta, 436.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR10 Klamath NR10

This is the open flute, lacking tongue or reed, and played by blowing across the open end while it is held vertically or horizontally. So I was told, but it is more probable that the vertical is the only position used. These are manufactured from branches of the ḳoḳo'dŏm bush or the elder (slo'lŭsɛm), from which the pith is easily removed, or from the long legs of cranes. The wooden flutes are three-quarters of an inch in diameter, one to two feet long, with three holes (or four or five ?) for finger stops burned at odd intervals. 534

The deer-hoof rattle (sŏ'ḳtsŏḳs) is probably the only one of the three Klamath rattles that is of any antiquity among them. It is used exclusively in the girl's adolescence rites. The Klamath form is a slender pole four to seven feet long with a cord along the upper third to which bunches of deer dew claws (ḳ'o'djĭŋks) are tied at intervals. The butt is pounded on the ground to jar the hooflets. [881]

Of the other two types, the clap rattle is the familiar cleft stick, the split end of which is struck against the palm. This was used in the Ghost dance of 1870 and in no other connection. It was derived from the Pit river peoples. The notched rattle (ulo'ks) is known to have been played by one man who learned it from the Upland Takelma. It may have been used in the war and scalp dances. This is the familiar notched stick set on the ground and rasped with another stick; no resonator is used.[143] [786] • [177]

The hand drum has no great antiquity among the Klamath but was in use before the coming of the whites. It was derived from some northern tribe, probably those of Warm Springs. Its very name, bŏ'mbŏm, is the common word in eastern Oregon and Washington. It is used only in the social dances, which are themselves of no great consequence. The drum is the familiar shallow tambourine affair, with only one head. Thongs crossed on the open face furnish a hand grip. Drums are constructed of a flattened juniper bough bent into a ring of one to two feet in diameter. Heads of badger and antelope hide are best; they yield the loudest sound. The drum was not decorated until lately, when stars were painted on the head. This is said to have been learned of the whites, but is more likely derived from the modern version of the Smohallah cult, the so-called Pompom religion of eastern Washington and Oregon. The drum stick (wo'tanote) is a stick wrapped with mink hide to form a knob. [177] [531] [177]

[143] There is no association of the sound with the voice of the frog nor with the rain, nor is it used in social dances, as in the Great Basin area. [533] [171]*

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be permisaible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance of 1870.

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely localized in many instances and partly identified with the figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that competing rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have nothing but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Elements of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath, but the dances as such are absent.

The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest followed by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding specific sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain" objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath concept of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion; the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Columbia is unknown here.

The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior type.

The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among

	K1	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	MF	MM	MS	MV
4014. Perform man's work only	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
4015. Perform labors both sexes	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
4016. Digs grave or helps at funerals	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
4017. Regarded disapprovingly		–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
4018. Regarded indifferently		–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
Death																
Treatment of corpse																
4019. Left in house until buried or burned	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
†4020. Left in house ... days or nights	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	–	–	–
4021. Removed outside immediately after death	•+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
4022. Body prepared for burial, burning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4023. Washed, in house	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
4024. Washed, at grave	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
4025. Painted	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
4026. Dentalia, bone tubes in nose, ears	–	+	+	+	–	+	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
4027. Bead necklaces on wealthy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
4028. Wrapped in hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+
4028a. Flexed, to form round bundle	–	–	–	–	–			–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	•+
4029. Wrapped in mat	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4030. Put in basket, occasionally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	+	–
4031. Removed from house through regular entrance	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
4032. Removed through wall of house	–	–	•+	•+	+	–	–	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
4033. Removed through draft hole			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
4034. Removed from house head first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	+	+	.	+
4035. Body outstretched, carried by 2 persons	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+		(+)	+
4036. On pole stretcher	–	–	+	+	–	•+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4037. On double robe	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
4038. Body carried suspended from pole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	(+)	–
4039. Body carried in arms, on back by 1 person	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Funerary Procedure																
†4040. Body kept outside for ... nights	1	–	1	1	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	2	–	–	–	–
4041. For few hours only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	..	+	–	+
4042. Large fire built beside corpse	+	–	+	+						+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4043. Relatives, friends assemble, wail	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4044. Mourning begins before death	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	.	+	+	+	–
4045. Wailing by mourners at prefuneral dance	•–	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
4046. Mourners bring gifts to dead	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	•+
4047. Night dance by mourners	–	–	+	+	+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
4048. Prior to burial, cremation	–	–	•+	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	•+	•+	•+
4049. Mourners wear or carry boughs	–	–	•+	•+	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4050. 1 group of dancers follows another	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4051. Officiating woman piles boughs by corpse	–	–	+	•+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4052. Ashes, water sprinkled after corpse	•+	–	+			•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
4053. Children not allowed at burial, burning	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
4054. All avoid smoke from pyre		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
4055. Widow attends husband's burial, burning		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
•4056. Speech at burial, burning	+	+	+	+	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+
4057. Widow(s) try to jump on pyre, in grave	.	+	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	–	–	–
4058. Restrained	.	+	.		+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	•+	•+	–	–
4059. Mourners jump about as they wail			–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
4060. Throw dirt over themselves	.	+	–					+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
4061. Roll in dirt	.	+	+					+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+

838 [647] 764 764 786

Most Klamath live in one or another of the several towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere, in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40 percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation, by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members" with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically, less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods." Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are not easily distinguished in dress and language.

The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money" had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly, local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners. The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are patronized largely by Klamath.

In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a small assimilated minority.

Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street. However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected